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PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

M91-319

INTRODUCTION

1. Since independence, successive policies and strategies to improve the social and material well-being of Africa's population through development planning and management have instead led to excruciating debt burdens and sharp deterioration of living standards across the length and breath of the continent.

2. The gravity of Africa's socio-economic predicament is reflected in, for instance, that less than 30 per cent of the population has access to safe drinking water, 10-30 per cent of the children die before the age of five and the average life expectancy of adults is 51; between 1982 and 1986, 200 million Africans in 24 countries suffered the effects of drought and the threat of famine; educational expenditures fell from $41 per capita in 1980 to $28 in 1985 and as many as 40 per cent of school-age children did not attend school in 1984 whilst drop-out rates increased; and to epitomize it all, 26 of the 42 world's least developed countries are in Africa.[1] The implication of the dismal scenario is that it would be unrealistic to expect governments to go it all alone in grappling with the daunting challenges of recovery and development.

3. The main purpose of this report is to focus attention on the concept and pragmatism of peoples' contribution to and benefits from the economic and social advancement of African countries and how best this public participation strategy could be improved and strengthened to speed up the transformation and sustained development of Africa's natural resources and productive forces for the betterment of the quality of human conditions in the region. The specific objectives which flow from this main aim include (a) an attempt to evolve a common understanding of the terms "public participation" and "development planning and management"; (b) overview of experiences of public participation in development planning and management in Africa so as to draw lessons to guide future policies, strategies and activities; (c) reflection on the orientation of public participation, development planning and management in the context of the requirements of the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP), the Special Action Programme for Administration and Management (SAPAM), and for the articulation of strategies to increase practical and effective public participation in Africa's sustained economic and social development management. At the end of the report, policy proposals will be suggested for consideration against the demands of future socio-economic development challenges and tasks.

A. Public participation as a concept

4. Public participation is not a new concept. However, whereas it has been articulated in corporate management and extensively documented in projects on "Strategies for Small Farmer Development"[2] in several African and Latin American countries, it has yet to be contextually articulated, documented and operationalized since it is central to development planning and management. At present as a concept, it is subjected to partial analysis and various interpretations. In some situations, its understanding by everybody is erroneously taken for granted. At the outset, it should, therefore, be noted that participation could be public but not necessarily popular in terms of general acceptability by the population. There is thus a thin but important line of difference between public and popular participation. This thin line could become thicker if 'popular' is viewed from the perspective of the 1789 French Revolution. In the present context,

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1/ See for example, The Khartoum Declaration: Towards a Human-focused Approach to Socio-economic Recovery and Development in Africa (UNECA, International Conference on the Human Dimension of Africa's Economic Recovery and Development, Khartoum, Sudan, 5-8 March 1988); UNECA, Economic Report on Africa, 1989, Addis Ababa, April 1989; and Paul Wangoola, "Promoting indigenous NGOs as instruments of popular participation", a paper prepared for the International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa, Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, 12-16 February 1990, p.10.

2/ See, for example, Elliott R. Morss et al, Strategies for Small Farmer Development: An Empirical Study of Rural Development Projects in the Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria, Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay and Peru, vol. I, Westview Special Studies in Social, Political and Economic Development (Colorado, Westview Press, Inc., 1976).

however, the 'public' consists of all individuals or all the people within specific geographical boundaries which constitute a nation state, subregion or region. Given that only the government is better placed to plan and manage the economy in the interest of all the people, it could be taken that public participation connotes partnership between the people and their government in the interest of national growth and development. Needless to reiterate that the accredited representatives or leaders of the people constitute the government. It is thus apparent that public participation is much more than involvement in decision-making. It may be defined as the process whereby individuals and their government, in a given milieu, share political, social and economic responsibility for and contribute to both the decision-making processes and activities on national priorities, resource mobilization allocation and utilization for the advancement of the quality of the social and economic life of the whole society.

5. Thus, public participation contextually implies that individuals in any society should not be free or joy-riders who expect everything from the government, but should be active participants in the development process. Every person in society is expected not only to share responsibility for the political and socio-economic destiny of the society in which he/she lives and earns his/her living but also to make reasonable contribution to and sacrifices for the planning and management processes and activities which would lead to an improvement in the material well-being and quality of life of everyone in the society. The externalities or spill overs of the self-sustaining activities of individuals will contribute to national development only if harnessed and directed towards the developmental aspirations of the whole nation. In the partnership for national growth and development, the government is better placed to tap and pool the resources and resourcefulness of its people for societal development.

6. In the light of this analytical perspective, public participation further implies that everything which improves the quality of life entails some costs in terms of commitment and utilization of material and financial resources. For instance, payment must somehow be made for education and medical care which some people would like to regard as free. In essence, therefore, promises of free social services must be placed in their proper and realistic context. Public participation requires that every person in society must sacrifice and make financial and/or other resource contribution to make it possible for the government to provide social services. This is an aspect of public participation which is usually given marginal consideration in the government-people alliance for national economic development management.

7. So far, public participation has been considered without reference to the nature and quality of participation except for the reference to the fact that public and popular participation are not necessarily synonymous expressions. Universal adult suffrage is known as a popular form of public participation in the selection of persons who would form a government or leadership group of any organization. It is also well-known that adult suffrage became universal in some countries not too long ago and exists only on paper in some countries with authoritarian and military regimes. In terms of nature and quality, therefore, public participation may be spontaneous, subtly or overtly coercive, orchestrated and ephemeral or latent and requires stimuli or catalyst to elicit and vitalize it for national development. The nature and quality of public participation would influence the outcome of development planning and management of the economy.

B. Concept of development planning

8. In the contextual definition of public participation in paragraph 4 of this report, there is also an incidental definition of development planning. This could be elaborated in view of the pragmatic approach which African countries have tended to adopt in development planning since the late 1970s against the background of the sophistication of international economic relations and the failure of past development plans to respond appropriately to contemporary economic challenges.

9. The operationalization of the concept of development has continued to be illusive. Over the years, even World Bank (IBRD) efforts[3] to resolve the problem of hiatus between development theory and practiced especially in its less developed client nations do not appear to have paid the expected dividends. There is increasing consensus, however, that development is much more than growth. Although the increase in the gross national product (GNP) which reflects the increase in goods and services a country produces still remains the only significant quantitative criterion for the determination of the productive strength of a country's economy, it is generally agreed that the GNP growth is no longer regarded as the main objective or index of development. The latter should mean growth plus change in the quality and standard of living of everyone in the population of a country. Admittedly, growth in the output of goods and services must take place so that a country would have something to distribute to the people. However, development should be viewed as the process whereby the real per capita income of a country increases over a long period of time, subject to the promise that the number of people below the country's absolute poverty line decreases significantly and the distribution of income does not become more unequal as a result of increase in GNP.

10. With hindsight, therefore, human dimensions must be accorded a central place in development planning and management. At the Khartoum International Conference on the Human Dimension of Africa's Economic Recovery and Development, it was emphasized that the issue is one of people planning and assuming responsibility for investment activities, carrying them out and making them profitable. "Development is about man and if it is to be genuine, man should become its active agent and not passive beneficiary"[4] This underlines the fact that public participation implies not only the right to exercise inalienable human rights but also individual obligations to and sacrifices for the common good of the society.

C. Concept of development management

11. The concept of development management deals with the managerial and administrative aspects of development planning. In the context of public participation, this would encompass the institutional, organizational, managerial and administrative functions which are essential for the successful implementation of development plans. Development planning does not take place in a vacuum. Rather it takes place within specific socio-cultural institutions and value systems. Thus, factors such as existing land tenure systems, society's attitude to property ownership and profitability, traditional leadership institutions and responsiveness of cultural factors to planned changes, invariably affect the implementation and outcome of development plans. The interaction of development managers with a cross-section of society will facilitate the smooth transformation of existing socio-cultural institutions in accordance with changes which are inherent in development planning. knowledge of the existing characteristics of the socio-cultural institutions would make the job of the development manager or administrator much easier.

12. In the same vein, organizational issues include decisions on functions, the clustering of these functions to derive a functional organization chart in which harmonious relationships could be established among the bureaucracy of development plans and the general public. Organizational issues also deal with the broad policy question of the location of responsibility for national planning within the government bureaucracy or machinery. There are a diversity of organizational forms in practice in African countries. Responsibility for development planning could be vested in a Ministry of Planning, Ministry of Finance and Planning or in a National Planning Commission. Each country has its own reasons for preferring one organizational form over the other and public participation may well be one of the reasons in the policy decision-making process. The development management concept argues that organizational issues must be

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3/ See, for instance, Hollis Chenery et al., Redistribution with Growth: Policies to Improve Income Distribution in Developing Countries in the Context of Economic Growth (Oxford, World Bank and the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, 1974); and Gerald M. Meier and Dudley Seers (eds), Pioneers in Development (Washington, D.C., World Bank, 1984). In this latter publication the World Bank sponsored ten pioneers in the concept and practice of economic development to recapitulate the status of economic development today vis-a-vis what it was some 30 or 40 years back.

4/ UNECA, The Khartoum Declaration, 5-8 March 1988, op.cit., p.3.

carefully considered in the formulation of development plans. Organizational design must be commensurate with the requirements of the development plans of each country.

13. The managerial and administrative aspects of development management must be seen within the institutional and the organizational parameters of development planning as indicated in the preceding two paragraphs. More specifically, the job of the manager and the administrator is essentially to harness and direct human resources in the formulation and implementation of all activities in the development plan. In this regard, managers and administrators include politicians, specialists in development planning methodology, statisticians, economists, sociologists, agronomists, financiers, private and public enterprise officials and individuals whose activities will be affected by development planning. The success of development planning depends on the capacity of all these managers to make effective decisions and to motivate the employees and the general public to commit themselves to the attainment, of the planned objectives of agricultural, industrial and social development. The development management concept postulates that the design, formulation and implementation of development plans must take into account the availability, capability and capacity of local personnel to sustain the management of all aspects of a development plan. Training and the continual development of local expertise in the management of all aspects of the development process must be considered as the cornerstone of the concept of development management.

14. The incapacity of Africa's economies to respond appropriately to exogenous economic shocks such as fluctuating commodity prices and dwindling foreign exchange earnings has been attributed not only to shortcomings in development planning but also to the gross mismanagement of both the private and public sectors. The latter, being the leading sector, has had to bear the brunt of this accusation for shoddy management of the development process and programmes. At independence in the early 1960s, civil servants did not consider themselves as managers but as administrators. Management was then associated with commercial enterprises. This misconceptual dichotomy has had adverse repercussions on the partnership that should have existed between the private and public sectors in the management of the national economy. In the private sector, firms have resisted the demand for workers' participation in management and in the public sector civil servants have hitherto not considered the private sector as partners in national economic management.

15. Notwithstanding, the obvious changes in international economic relations since independence and the increasing complexity of the demands of the population and sophistication of service institutions, government administrations in independent Africa have the tendency to cling to the legacy of anachronistic administrative traditions which were designed for colonial exploitation rather than for development. Thus, like development planning, development management in Africa has, partly for historical reasons, been slow to re-adapt to changing economic environments. The turbulence of the world economy, the debt crises and deterioration in living standards require flexible approaches to the resolution of management problems. Development plans need to be correlated with a country's capacity to manage developmental programmes in an ever changing environment rather than immutable blueprints that must be implemented even when it is obvious that the country will not be able to mobilize the required resources without adverse consequences for the population. A review of recent experience in strategic planning and management indicates that management practices, particularly at the executive level, are undergoing substantial changes in response to accelerated pace of change in global levels of competition and resource mobility. Public institutions are, therefore, facing new challenges as they attempt to support social changes that are concomitant with economic change. Bureaucratization and centralization tendencies of the 1960s have given way to strategic management which, inter alia, employs a planning process that is issue-focused, creative, selective, opportunity seeking, highly interactive and emphasizes leadership and delegation within a strategic framework.[5] Planning and management should be regarded as integral processes in which the degree of public participation determines the quality of performance of the development activities of a nation.

5/ See, for instance, Nagy Hanna, Strategic Planning and Management: A review of recent experience (Washington, D.C., the World Bank staff working papers number 751, 1985) for details on the concept and practice of strategic planning and management especially in private sector organizations.

SECTION I

AN OVERVIEW OF COUNTRY EXPERIENCES

A. The issues in perspective

16. Virtually all independent African countries have accepted public participation in development planning and management as the sin qua non for sustained social and economic development. In order to meet the rising expectations of the population for a better life on independence, African Governments embarked on the preparation of long-term (1-20 years), medium-term (1-5 years) and short-term (1-3 years) national development plan, annual budget, development project, and participated extensively in commercial activities and enterprises which were best undertaken by the private sector in industrialized countries. Development plans in African countries differ in terms of magnitude of objectives, priorities and comprehensiveness; extent of the public sector vis-à-vis private sector; the structure and style of the planning agency; and the praxis of planning philosophies, between a planned economy based on the Soviet Union prototype and the free market prototype of the Adam Smith School.

17. The inadequacy of resource management capacity and direction on how to achieve objectives and targets of plans constitute constraints in planning and management in practically all African countries. Free education, free medical services and subsidized food production are, for example, plausible objectives which were reflected in the development plans of several African countries of independence but have never been achieved. Similarly, public participation which had contributed decisively to the attainment of independence featured as one of the objectives in development plans but without the articulation of the mechanism and capacity for the achievement of this well-founded objective. The result of these lapses in the modus operandi for the realization of planned objectives has rendered development plans ineffective as instruments of development. Thus it could be argued that the positive economic growth rates experienced in Africa up to the mid 1970s were due more to fortuitous circumstances such, as good weather and high prices of export commodities rather than to national development plans and good management of the economies. At the first flush of endogenous and external economic shocks, including a precipitous fall in commodity prices, the flaws in development planning and management become self-evident and the economies of most African countries would plunge into socio-economic crises.

18. Coupled with the lack of articulation of the mechanism and the capacity to attain planned objectives, the tasks of management of rapid economic changes overwhelmed the capacity of the colonial trained civil servants. All responsibilities for the extended commercial activities of the government naturally devolved on civil servants, especially senior administrators who are advisors on formulation and implementation of government policies. In effect, administrators who had been trained in governmental processes that ensure the maintenance of law and order and the collection of tax revenues, were called upon at independence to assume full responsibility for the management of socio-economic plans which required new skills, new approaches and new attitudes. In the circumstances, the challenge of independence and the development planning and management problems it brought made it difficult for any meaningful administrative reforms to be instituted during the nation-building years of independence. This, then, ought to be the perspective background against which to review African countries' experience with public participation in national economic management for sustained development.

19. Since the late 1970s, when the creeping problems of economic planning and management came to a head, African leaders from all walks of life have been preoccupied with the quest for strategies which would turn around the dismal performance and bleak economic outlook of the continent in the direction of speedy recovery and sustained development. It has since been realized that public participation as a critical factors in overcoming the contemporary economic problems should not be perceived in a vacuum but in the context of political and governmental systems and structures, on the one hand, and the resource base and capacities of the productive forces of each country as well as the ramifications of the mobilization of external resources for Africa's economic recovery, on the other hand. In this regard, "the public" includes not only

the citizens and other inhabitants of each African country but also the taxpayers in non-African countries which are already or could become partners in the development efforts of African countries. The financial magnitude and pattern of financial involvement of the domestic and 'external' public in Africa's economic recovery is shown in table 1 for the period 1986-1990.

Table 1. Financial Implications of Public Participation in Africa's Economic Recovery Programme 1986-1990 (in million US dollars)

Sector	Cost per sector	Domestic public already available or planned to be mobilized	Percentage of sectoral requirements	Percentage of overall requirements	External public resources	Percentage of sectoral requirements	Percentage of overall
Agriculture	57,434.1	40,288.4	70.1	31.4	17,145.7	29.9	13.4
Other Sectors in support of Agriculture	60,110.5	36,675.8	61.0	28.6	23,435.1	39.0	18.3
Drought and Desertification	3,408.9	1,505.5	44.2	1.2	1,903.4	55.8	1.5
Human Resources Development	7,151.0	4,017.7	56.2	3.1	3,132.9	43.8	2.4
Total	128,104.5	82,487.4	64.4	64.4	45,617.1	35.6	35.6

Source: Adapted from Africa's submission to the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis as adopted by the first extraordinary meeting of the ECA Conference of Ministers, held in Addis Ababa, on 28 and 29 March 1986 and the fifteenth extraordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers also held in Addis Ababa on 30 and 31 March 1986 tables 1-5.

20. The 35.6 per cent financial resource gap in table 1 to be made up from taxpayers of non-African countries should be a source of concern. This foreign resource gap could be critical to the success of Africa's economic recovery programme notwithstanding the fact that the bulk (64.4 per cent) of the resources would come from domestic or internal sources that is, from the domestic public participation in economic activities. Table 1 figures, therefore, raise more questions than provide answers to the African economic problematic. With hindsight, the mid-term UN-PAAERD review cautions, inter alia, that even though the international community has committed itself to an increased level of both bilateral and multilateral financial assistance to African countries, further improvements are required in the quantity and trend of resource flows to Africa. For instance, whilst net resource flows to Africa increased from $17.9 billion in 1985 to $19.9 billion in 1986 and $22.9 billion in 1987 in nominal terms, measured in real terms, resource flows to Africa were lower in 1986 and 1987 than in 1985. Statistical annexes to the UN-PAAERD mid-term review report of the United Nations Secretary-General depict the same scenario of inadequate and diminishing resource flows to Africa.[6] Needless to reiterate the fact that governments in non-African countries would not ignore the interests of their taxpayers in order to meet the development requirements of African countries. Every country in the world tends to give priority to the needs of its own citizens. It is therefore unrealistic to expect endless aid from the taxpaying public of non-African countries or to expect consumers of Africa's commodity exports to pay higher prices and be worse-off even if they can pay less and be better-off in their standard of living. These contemporary realities of international economic relations should be realized. The social and economic changes currently underway in Eastern Europe add yet another dimension the uncertainties of external public participation in Africa's economic recovery and development. Thus measures to boost domestic rather than external public participation will be decisive in Africa's efforts towards sustained socio-economic transformation and development. As it is known, commitment of African leaders to public participation in development is unequivocal but the measures to operationalize this noble conviction are still in the making. This report and conferences such as the Arusha International Conference on Popular Participation (12-16 February 1990) demonstrate the seriousness of African leaders' conviction in public participation as an instrument of economic recovery and development.

21. A country-by-country review of public participation in all the 51 independent African countries would require much more space than is available in this report. Table 1 is an aggregation of the quantitative resource cost of internal and external public participation in all Africa's economic recovery. Available empirical evidence[7] based on a sample of African and Latin American countries could also provide the contours which could be extrapolated and tentative inferences drawn on the experiences of several African countries. This could be used as a basis for the articulation of future strategies for public participation in development management in Africa. Since about 91.8 per cent of the financial resources of Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (APPER) were earmarked for agriculture and other sectors in support of agriculture, and about 55 to 75 per cent of Africa's population reside in the countryside, it would be appropriate to review participation at the in-country project level by taking empirical information from the randomly selected countries.

22. In Africa, women play a significant role in food production. The empirical evidence being reviewed covers seven countries including Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria and three Latin American countries. The empirical studies underline, inter alia: (a) that except in northern Nigeria, women tend to have complete equality regarding participation in basic agricultural production although in northern Ghana and northern Nigeria, both Muslim areas, the rate of complete equality appeared to be lowest; (b) the low rates of women in decision-making in five of the countries tends to be evened somewhat by greater participation; (c) in Bolivia and Peru women tend to have more decision-making power on matters, such as, the decision to join a co-operative or obtain credit. In some of the countries where credit is tied to landholding as collateral,

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6/ See United Nations General Assembly document A/43/500 of 10 August and A/43/500/Add.1, 18 August 1988.

7/ Elliott R. Morss, John K. Hatch et al, Strategies for Small Farmer Development: An Empirical Study of Rural Development Projects in The Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria, Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay and Peru. Op.cit.

males tend to dominate the decision to negotiate for credit facilities; (d) farmers especially small farmers, are risk-aversive: a subsistence farmer, would, for instance, opt for a guaranteed small crop yield for himself and his family rather than go in for a higher yield which has a higher risk of failure; and (e) planners generally tend to ignore or underestimate the fact that in agricultural production activities, the participation and decision-making powers of women could be crucial to success. In essence, therefore, the comparative role of men and women in decision-making should be taken into account in project design.[8]

23. Examples of farmer contributions in the determination of activities and the ways in which they are implemented could be summarized in the following brief cases of projects with high and low levels of local involvement in the identification and design stage of a development project: (a) Tiv Bains/Farmer Association/Nigeria: Government credit to farmers was tied to political loyalty, the Tiv leaders and farmers developed a savings and loan programme consisting of local banks (bamo). The concept spread rapidly through three Tiv Divisions, and became the basis for the establishment of a multi-tiered Farmers' Association for improving of agricultural production in co-operation with government extension workers; (b) the Mixed Vegetable Scheme/The Gambia (MVS) grew out of women's initiative to participate in The Gambia Co-operative Union. Pre co-operative for women were set up to test and implement a technological package and so began the institutionalization of women's traditional role as innovators in Gambian agriculture. All in all, local small farmers could be involved in the generation of useful project ideas, communication and refinement of project ideas in the light of local experience, local people and project staff could also experiment with innovative ideas or packages, and involvement in decision-making. All these empirically identified roles in the participation process could be significant in the design phase of a project if the project is area-intensive, the intervening agent holds a series of progress meetings with local leaders and farmers embracing farmer participation and control over decisions, and farmers themselves work as partners with project staff on organizational arrangements.

24. Local participation during project implementation and management could be most effective if there is regular dialogue of farmers with project staff; there is farmer control or sharing in project decision-making in so far as they affect management in the farmer's locality. The farmer has opportunity to test new technology introduced, and he controls or shares in the management of project activities in his local area. Local participation could be quite low if the local people find out that the project staff tend to dominate decision-making in project design and management. Accountability systems are also crucial in promoting local participation. Training, effective two-way communications systems and use of para-professionals such as national agricultural extension agents could all improve farmer active participation in development projects.

25. Resource commitment in public participation is one of the areas usually disregarded. For a rounded definition of participation resources commitment by all the parties who will also expect to share benefits is essential. Thus in the empirical data[9] under consideration the following table 2 illustrates circumstances under which farmers will be willing to commit their time and money to a project.

8/ Ibid, Elliott R. Morss, John K. Hatch et al. pp. 59-61.

9/ Ibid., p. 85.

Table 2. Standardized small farmer resource commitment by decision-making responsibility

	Major decisions made by:		
	Project staff	Farmers	Farmers and project staff
Item			
Average farmer, resource commitment (standardized)*	-.444	-.099	.501
Standard deviation	817	.645	1.146
Number of project cases	14	8	14

* Significance Tests for Mean Differences. The number under "Major decisions made by" is the t-ratio statistic for the test of differences between means (averages). Given the size sample, the t-ratio must be greater than 2.086 for the difference to be significant at the .05 (i.e.5 per cent) level, or the level of confidence in 95 per cent. Thus:

Project vs shared	Shared vs Farmer	Project vs Farmer
2.424	1.301	.979

Source: Adapted from Elliott R. Morss, John K. Hatch, et al, strategies for Small Farmer Development o/cit. p. 85.

The statistics in table 2 suggest simply that farmers are likely to be more willing to commit their time and money (resources) to a project if they and the project share decision-making responsibilities than if this function is controlled either by the project or the farmer alone. The implication is that farmers would make significant resource commitment if they themselves have a voice in all aspects (design, implementation, monitoring, and management) of a development project than if the government or foreign assistance agency were to go it all alone and then impose the project on the farmers. Each African country has had experience with development projects that failed essentially because the local people's ideas were disregarded or not sought. In the circumstances, local commitment of peoples' time and financial resources could not be forthcoming. These micro-level project experiences could be extrapolated to the national or macro-level and the outcomes would be just as negative, albeit perhaps cumulatively negative in national socio-economic development if the majority of the projects in the nation follow the same non-participatory methodology of planning and management as illustrated here.

B. Changing perceptions and re-orientation of development planning and management

26. In the face of excruciating socio-economic crisis, it is evident that virtually all African countries have drawn instructive lessons from the failure and poor performance of past development plans and economic management experiences. It has been realized, for instance, that plans that ignore the influence of market forces and incentives or assume that internal economic policies could be insulated from the behaviour or external economic forces cannot succeed in achieving expected results. It has also become evident that governments' financial and administrative capacity to handle public enterprises and other social responsibilities should be rationalized and restricted to those activities which the state can manage effectively and without leakages in the utilization of scarce resources. Preoccupation with grandiose plans and

objectives without the financial and managerial capacity to carry them through has given way to less over-ambitious and pragmatic approaches to development planning. The role of the government in directing the economy still remains crucial but the management limitations of the government have also been recognized.

27. All the countries reviewed seem to have made a new beginning in the perception and reorientation of the role of government in political-economic matters. The thrust would seem to be in the direction of creating the framework and the enabling environment for individuals, the private and informal sectors to spontaneously participate with the government in the task of economic management for development. This is not an easy task.

28. The new perceptions and reorientation of the enabling environment to foster spontaneous and hence effective public participation in development in various African countries could be classified as hereunder:

(a) Peaceful coexistence as precondition for public participation in development has been intensified by all African countries. Notwithstanding, the outstanding hotbeds of disputes in some African countries, recent peace initiative in Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Sudan and the independence of Namibia as well as the cracks in the system of apartheid in South Africa are pointers to the acknowledgement of the essence of a peaceful environment as a precondition for public participation in development management;

(b) Political process as the basic instrument for public participation in development has also been reaffirmed in countries with civilian and military regimes. There is increasing consensus among African leaders that freely elected representatives of the population would reflect and promote the genuine development priorities of the nation. This would enhance the confidence of the people in their government. It cannot be gainsaid that lack of confidence in government has been one of the main causes of corruption and mismanagement of the economies of various African countries;

(c) 'Planning with the People'[10] has been adopted as the motto for people participation in development. In 1976, the then President of Botswana, late Seretse Khama, gave the mandate for planning with the people in Botswana based on the premise that planning was not the prerogative of only civil servants or technocrats but the concern of all Botswana. Officials were, therefore, to keep in touch and consult with their communities on the whole range of government policies and programmes given that the target of government efforts was the improvement in the quality of life of the people. In 1983, His Excellency, Arap Moi, the President of Kenya, also announced that the Kenya government was fully prepared to launch a new strategy which would devolve development planning and implementation to the districts[11] in order to ensure the participation of the grassroots population in national development. Thus planning with and by the people has come to be accepted as the cornerstone of development management in African countries;

(d) Decentralized administration could improve public management and delivery systems as well as contribute to the enhancement of public participation in development. African countries held two workshops under the auspices of the Management Development Programme of the Commonwealth Secretariat in 1986 and 1987 and, among other things, argued rightly that although decentralized administration was not the only strategy to ensure public participation, since independence efforts to bring the government closer to the people and to democratize development have been guided by the objectives to: (i) involve the population directly in projects formulation and management; (ii) transfer decision-making to the relevant locality; and (iii) allocate human resources according to need.[12] The methods used to attain these objectives have differed from country to country but the basic premise of democratization of participation in development has been identical;

10/ See Dolf Noppen, Planning with the People in Botswana, op. cit, p.40.

11/ Commonwealth Secretariat, "Decentralization in Kenya" in Decentralized Administration in Africa: Policies and Training Experience (London, January 1989), p.75.

12/ Ibid., Commonwealth Secretariat, p.4.

(e) Privatization and Joint Ventures with governments have also received attention of various African countries. Although it could be argued that the resort to privatization policies in Africa emanated from the IMF, the World Bank and some bilateral donors, it must be admitted that consistent financial and management problems of state-owned commercial enterprises had become a serious source of public sector deficits with implications for the current excruciating external debt crises of African countries. In the circumstances, African governments themselves have had to re-examine the efficiency of the public sector as a whole with a view to reforming the public enterprises to make them real partners in national development. Early experience of privatization even in the developed countries suggest that technical difficulties could be as constraining as political factors[13] and as such privatization may not be the panacea for economic recovery and development; and

(f) Informal sector and non-governmental organizations have also been encouraged to participate in development management. The government alone has limited capacity to generate and provide employment to the ever increasing population of young people who enter the labour market each year. Thus, it could be argued that the trend towards the operationalization of the concept of public participation since the mid-1980s has been to move towards the creation of conditions and the enabling environment which would stimulate individual and collective initiatives in employment generation and contribution to national development in partnership with the government. A review of the impact of this trend is the subject matter of the ensuing paragraphs.

C. Impact of public participation on the development process

29. Across the length and breath of Africa, the clamour for governments to provide more and more goods and services for which individuals cannot afford to pay or provide for themselves has become louder than ever before. The pre-independence promises of governments to provide free social services and employment for all have come home to roost in the form of economic stagnation, national budget deficits, debt crises, chronic balance-of-payments disequilibria, and the deterioration of living standards and conditions of the vast majority of the African people especially workers, peasants, women and children. Although this dismal scenario could be attributed to the vicissitudes of the global economy in terms of erratic demand and fluctuating prices for Africa's commodities as well as unfavourable terms of trade, the partial responsibility of some of the domestic policies of African countries for the current crisis of development should not be swept under the rug. The neglect of rural areas, pervasive corruption, excessive bureaucratization, distorted national priorities, misplaced reliance on foreign capital[14] and the lack of perspective in the promotion of public participation in the political, social and economic dimensions of development planning and management have all contributed to the current social and economic crises.

30. The revival of public participation as a critical factor in economic recovery and development reflects the determination of African leaders to involve the whole population in finding solutions to the current economic crisis. The people must themselves determine the most appropriate path to achieve sustainable social and economic development. The initiatives enumerated in paragraph 19 of this report under "Changing perceptions and the re-orientation of development planning and management" demonstrate the significance which African Governments attach to the renaissance of interest in and commitment to the concept and operationalization of public participation. The decision to hold an International Conference on

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13/ See Nicolas van de Walle, "Privatization in Developing Countries: A Review of the Issues", World Development, vol. 17, No. 5, pp. 601-615, 1989 (Great Britain, Pergamon Press, 1989).

14/ Bade Onimode (ed), The IMF, The World Bank and the African Debt: The Social and Political Impact, vol. 2, (London, The Institute for African Alternatives, 1989), p. 192.

Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa[15] is a case in point. It underlines the commitment and seriousness of the African Governments, peoples and the international community to involve the whole population in the development management efforts of the government in order to speed up the economic recovery and development process.

SECTION II

THE ROLE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN THE CHALLENGES OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT

31. The emerging consensus in Africa now is that popular public participation with the government in grappling with the various problems of development planning and management would contribute immensely to the speedy economic recovery and development of the continent. In this regard, the United Nations General Assembly in adopting the report of the Ad hoc Committee of the Whole of the General Assembly on the Review and Appraisal of the UN-PAAERD, unanimously endorsed the view that "the participation of people in the recovery and development process should continue to be broadened and made more effective, particularly through promoting increased access to development resources and benefits, creating favourable conditions for decentralized decision-making, encouraging greater entrepreneurship at all levels and promoting individual initiative and private enterprise". Subsequently, in the Joint Statement on AAF-SAP (April 1989) by African Ministers responsible for economic development and planning and finance, it was underlined that "in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of the AAF-SAP at the national level, the entire population should be fully involved. To this effect, each country should take appropriate measures to create the necessary enabling environment for effective popular participation thereby consolidating and deepening the process of self-reliant development."[16] The role of public participation in the challenges of economic recovery and development could therefore be perceived against the background of the concerns, convictions and commitment of African leaders.

32. The specific objectives of the Arusha International Conference on effective popular participation in development were to: "(a) provide recognition of the role of people's spontaneous participation in Africa's recovery and development efforts; (b) sensitize national governments and the international community to the dimensions and results of and benefits to be derived from the contributions of people to their own self-development; (c) identify obstacles to people's participation in development and define appropriate approaches for the promotion of popular participation in development policy formulation, planning and implementation of development programmes; (d) recommend actions to be taken by governments, the United Nations System, the public and private donor agencies, in building an enabling environment for effective popular participation in the development process which motivates people and their organization to undertake self-reliant development initiatives; and (e) propose indicators for the monitoring of progress in facilitating people's participation in Africa's development". The modus operandi for the realization of the objectives enumerated here might differ from country to country, although African countries share certain common economic and social characteristics of underdevelopment.

15/ This Conference which was held in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, 12-16 February 1990, arose from discussions between governmental and non-government organization (NGO) representatives at the September 1986 mid-term review of the implementation of the UN-PAAERD by the United Nations General Assembly, New York, and the ECA Conference of Ministers responsible for economic development and planning adopted resolution 664 (XXIV) at its fifteenth meeting/twenty-fourth session of the Commission supported the convening of the Conference and urged member States to support and actively participate in the Conference.

16/ See E/ECA/CM 15/6/Rev.3 Annex II on Addis Ababa Joint Statement by African Ministers of Economic Planning and Development and Ministers of Finance on the "African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programme for Socio-economic Recovery and Transformation, para. 7, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 10 April 1989.

33. With the determination of African Governments to give a new push to agricultural development as the anchor-sheet of food security and agro-based industrialization, all countries are adopting comprehensive policies for the full and effective participation of the people in agricultural development. The improvement of the working environment and living conditions of women and youth in the rural area has become a priority. Measures are being undertaken in each country for the people to participate actively in increased food productions arable land development and land improvement, animal and livestock product development, mechanization, storage and marketing, agricultural research and extension, water resource management and low-cost irrigation scheme, reafforestation programmes and drought and desertification control.[17] In the ECA Economic Report on Africa 1989 the improved performance of the food and agricultural sector in 1988 has been attributed generally to good weather across the continent and particularly to supply response of the farming population to incentive packages introduced by recent policy reforms.

34. The problems of women especially rural women as the major producers of food and also pastoral nomads and semi-nomads who are the main participants in the livestock subsector are being addressed more forcefully. There is now a shift of emphasis from large-scale and state-owned agricultural schemes towards giving the land to the actual tillers and promoting smallholder agriculture for the participation of peasants in agricultural development. Algeria is reported[18] to be one of the countries where people-centred agricultural reforms have probably gone the furthest. While in countries like Ethiopia, the Government is implementing vast and innovative reforms to make the countryside more conducive to increased productivity of the people through greater participation in agricultural activities.

35. People participation in manufacturing and processing industries in Africa have continued to be constrained by structural deficiencies and the sluggish progress made in the improvement of this sector. Perhaps only Mauritius has an impressive record of industrialization whilst Botswana's astounding economic growth could be attributed to the upsurge of a diamond boom which has nonetheless attracted a number of industrial establishments in recent years especially from South Africa. Reorientation of industrial policies in the direction of projects with low capital intensity and based on the availability of local natural resource endowments with backward and forward linkages would increase the rate of public participation and the accrual of social benefits from industrialization. The improvement in the performance of the agricultural sector would boost industrial development.

36. In the social services sector, the already very low income levels of the people impose a limit on the taxable capacity and also on the ability of the population to contribute substantial financial resources directly to the recovery and development programmes. However, with good public policies, people could help the government to reduce public expenditure on health care, education and other social welfare services. Shift of public policy emphasis from free curative healthcare to Community Health Care (CHC) in which each community takes responsibility for the maintenance of cleanliness and the hygiene of the community could reduce the incidence of disease and thus reduce the curative medical bill of the government. Health education on a grand scale could also reinforce the CHC or Primary Health Care (PHC) efforts of the community. Responsibility for national education could also be shared between the government, the community and individuals. Government policy could provide for the establishment of private schools without lowering the standards of scholarship. Communities could establish schools with financial and material assistance from the government. For instance, communities could be encouraged to provide labour and local building materials for community schools whilst the government provides and pays for qualified teachers, etc. Similarly communities could be made responsible for the solution of social problems such as

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17/ See OAU/ECM/2XV/Rev.2 and E/ECA/ECM.1/1/Rev.2 on "Africa's Submission to the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis" as adopted by the first extraordinary meeting of the ECA Conference of Ministers, held in Addis Ababa, on 28 and 29 March 1986 and the fifteenth extraordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers, also held in Addis Ababa on 30 and 31 March 1985, p. 14.

18/ See ECA Economic Report on Africa, 1989 (Addis Ababa, April 1989) pp. 12-15, for a general review of the performance of the food and agricultural sector in Africa.

juvenile delinquency, neighbourhood crimes, alcoholism and drug abuse. The Ministry of Social Welfare Services or some other government institution could launch community development programmes to promote healthy and responsible behaviour in the nation. One of the intrinsic attributes of man is to feel delighted to be associated with contribution to public welfare in the field of education, health and charities. For this attribute to bloom and flourish in any society, there must be absolute and demonstrated confidence in the management of the available resources, no matter how meager these resources may be. In this regard, the sombre realization that the current economic crisis has impelled the African public to raise questions about the propriety and probity of those charged with responsibility for national economic management should go a long way to encourage greater democratization of participation in decision-making processes which affect the welfare of the public. With the intensification of genuine commitment and measures to involve the latter in decision-making processes of planning and management of the national economy, people would be more willing to make sacrifices for the health of the community, their own education and that of their children, and the eradication of social problems so as to create a conducive environment for socio-economic development.

37. Popular public participation will lead to an increase in the productivity of all the workers in all sectors including the informal sector of the African economies. People will take pride in whatever they do. Those who are employed in the formal sector and the self-employed would have the incentive, through genuine participation, to commit themselves to the requirements of whatever they may be doing in their own and in the national interest. With increased productivity, the per capita and hence the national income of each country will increase; there will be increased availability of goods and services; and the overall standard of living of the population; and above all, Africa will become less and less dependent on the outside world to dictate the pace of the development of the continent.

38. Internal mobilization of resources for development will also be improved through public participation for instance, in the formulation and implementation of taxation system and the allocation of expenditures.

39. Similarly public participation in external resources mobilization would facilitate the realization of the 35.6 per cent foreign component of the resources required under the UN-PAAERD. Public participation in the mobilization of external resources should be perceived from the angle of: (a) the foreign governments as the accredited representatives of their electorates; and (b) the taxpayers of the countries from which Africa hopes to mobilize the 35.6 per cent of its UN-PAAERD requirements. Public participation will thus make it easier for the government to negotiate with foreign countries from a position of the strength of the people. Public participation in the development process could therefore make a nation great. This would attract the confidence of other nations and enhance external mobilization of resources to close the gap between available domestic resources and the resources required for the realization of the aims and objectives of development planning and management in African countries.

40. The whole population will become much more aware and appreciative of the vigorous demands of development management if all the actors in the economy have the opportunity to participate in policy decisions, plan formulation, implementation and management of the economy. Public participation should therefore be considered as the sin qua non of successful development planning and management.

41. In the Arusha 1990 African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation, it has been rightly observed that popular public participation ought to be seen as both a means and an end. It is an instrument of development. It provides the driving force for collective commitment to people-based development processes and people's willingness to make sacrifices and expend their social energies in the execution of development activities. As an end in itself, popular public participation is the fundamental prerogative of the people to fully and effectively participate in all decisions which affect their lives at all levels and at all times. The accredited representatives of the people need to appreciate the fact that the people are Africa's most important resource.

SECTION III

STRATEGIES AND MEASURES FOR EFFECTIVE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

A. Introduction

42. From the issues raised in the preceding sections of this report, it is evident that, like development planning and management, public participation is a multi-dimensional process which is at the centre of economic recovery and development because it encompasses the human dimensions of development. Inadequate public participation in development processes has adversely affected the pace of progress and heighten tensions especially amongst those who have no access to the wherewithal for food and other basic human needs for bare survival. This, then, is the background against which strategies and measures for effective public participation in development planning and management are being suggested. It has already been indicated that Africa is a mosaic of heterogeneous nations which share certain common characteristics of underdevelopment. Consequently, the strategies and measures proposed in this section are therefore broad. In effect, they are not intended to compromise the uniqueness of each country nor are they a critique of efforts currently underway to operationalize public participation in various African countries. As broad-based strategies, they present options which each country could consider against the background of its chosen path to social and economic development for popular public participation. Strategies and measures proposed are at three levels:

(a) The national or country level;

(b) The subregional level; and

(c) The regional level.

Needless to reiterate that strategies and measures at the above three levels are interrelated and should therefore be treated as such. The aim is to achieve sustained national socio-economic transformation, recovery and development.

B. National strategies and measures

1. Political mobilization

43. Political mobilization is considered as the sin qua non of public participation in development management. Political mobilization has several objectives[19] including (a) the entrenchment of political or social domination of one group by another group of people in the country; (b) the economic exploitation of the powerless; and (c) the emancipation of every person from both social domination, psychological and economic exploitation. Thus for political mobilization to have a positive impact on social and economic development on a sustained basis it must be emancipatory in all aspects. Emancipatory political mobilization seeks to (i) redress skewed or unfair distribution of power and wealth; (ii) create or expand the avenue for popular participation and healthy initiatives in production for national development; (iii) promote the peoples', especially peasants', self-confidence in their own abilities and capabilities; (iv) encourage the spirit of national cohesion and discourage colonially induced parochialism which subverts development plans and undermines effective economic management; (v) inculcate development-based work ethics which should flow from the demonstrated exemplary conduct of leaders from all walks of life in the society; and (vi) pursue electoral processes which would convince, at least, the powerless majority that they have every democratic

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19/ S.S. Mushi, "Political Mobilization for Rural Development: Some Lessons for an independent Namibia" (mimeograph), discussion paper presented at ILO (EMP/RU and SATEP), SWAPO of Namibia and the United Nations Institute for Namibia Workshop on Rural Development: Options for Namibia Co-operative College, Lusaka, Zambia, 2-15 October 1983.

opportunity to choose and to change leaders who are or are not the genuine accredited representatives of the public.

2. Enabling environment

44. Creation of an enabling environment as a strategy of development entails so many issues. At the national level, the actors in the development paradigm include the bureaucracy or government administration, the ruling political party, the business community, the peasants and individuals who do not fall into any of the other categories indicated here. All these actors are expected to participate and create the enabling environment for public participation in development. However, because of the dominant and central role of the ruling political party and the bureaucracy, the government should play the leading role in building the enabling environment for development. Creation of an enabling environment should entail respect for the rule of law and order irrespective of an individuals status in society; respect for consistency and continuity in the constitutional rights of all citizens and aliens in a country; and the provision of the infrastructure for the creative initiatives of individuals. The police, gendarmes and the armed forces should be made the true friends of the members of the public. The political, economic and psychological dimensions of the environment for development need to be carefully analyzed and harnessed in the national interest.

3. Establishing institutions for popular participation

45. The institutional basis of public participation is equally important. All the countries in Africa have accepted the decentralization of government administration and machinery as the surest way to bring about popular participatory democracy in development. The point is that African countries are not lacking in the institutional framework for development planning and economic management. Village development committees, district/divisional development committee, provincial/regional development committees, and development planning directorate/national planning agency which have been established since independence in almost every country to implement government policy on decentralization should be used to induce public participation. The lesson is that institutions per se do not guarantee public participation. The functioning of institutions is more important. A management audit and situational analysis of the current institutional framework for development would provide pertinent data for institutional reforms in the context of Africa's economic recovery and sustainable development.

4. The armed forces participation in civilian production

46. Armed forces participation in civilian production especially in rural development and agriculture could be considered as a strategy of public participation in development. Some governments in Africa have co-opted members of the military and the police force into the ruling party, diplomatic missions and parliament. This could be considered as a step in the right direction. Other countries have created a military-based national service which is self-sufficient in food production. It is, therefore, suggested here that the huge amount of equipment (other than bombs and bullets) used by the army be used in development programmes which could boost public participation in development. For example, the army corps of engineers could work on rural roads, dams and other civil works. The army could help peasants during the planting and harvesting seasons and spearhead other community development projects alongside the communities in which they live.

5. Education

47. Education for public participation in development is most essential. This should begin at the family level. It is important for everyone in society to understand and appreciate the different strands of public participation in development. The concept carries with it the duty or obligation to contribute to the costs as well as the right to share in the benefits of the cultural and material progress of the society in which one lives. The urban population should be educated to participate in development programmes involving labour-in-kind.

6. Employees-employers partnership in enterprises management

48. Public participation at the enterprise level in every country should be propagated as a step in the right direction. Workers contribute their labour and should have the right to share in cost decision-making and also the surpluses generated. With hindsight, employers have historically been reluctant to share decision-making and excess profits with workers. In some cases employers have often argued that workers are not knowledgeable in the intricacies of corporate management to be able to participate in decision-making. The paradox is that it is these same employers who point accusing fingers at the government for stifling business initiatives by not allowing them to participate in national investment decision-making. In some cases work councils have been established and trade unions have become an accepted component of industrial relations in the majority of African countries. The indigenization strategy under the 1974 Nigerian Enterprises Promotion decree sought to involve Nigerians in joint ventures with aliens with the aim of achieving national decolonization of the economy.[20] The requirements for indigenization of the economy are rigorous. The citizens must maintain the same or improve on the standard of the performance of aliens bearing in mind the fact that the risks of failure are too high. Not only is investors' money involved but also the jobs of employees and the welfare of their families, the interests of the consuming public and the national goals of socio-economic development. Thus, at the individual level, each person in the country must learn, in the paraphrase of the late United States President John F. Kennedy, to ask not what the country has done for him/her but what he/she has done to further the development interests of his/her nation.

7. The use of self-help groups

49. Self-help groups or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should be used to propagate the essence of public participation in all African countries. NGOs in African countries include thrift societies in urban and rural areas, mutual self-help labour groups of men and women in rural areas, village development associations whose membership may extend beyond the village to include all the village descendants who may be employed outside the village, production and consumer co-operative societies which have been created at the grassroots by the people themselves and not imposed by the government. In recent years there has been a proliferation of NGOs from foreign countries in Africa. They seem to have inspired the revival of the NGOs culture in Africa. NGOs strife to be independent of the state bureaucracy in decision-making and endeavour to identify more with the underdog and grassroots development.[21] African countries should regard NGOs as very important partners in national development. African countries should take NGOs as development partners and should hold dialogue with NGO representatives. The dialogue between governments and NGOs could contribute immensely to the inducement of spontaneous public, especially grassroots participation in the economic transformation process of African countries. Solidarity between indigenous and foreign NGOs should be encouraged. It is essential for local NGOs to always bear in mind their country-specific roots and the genuine development and welfare aspirations of the nation and not to give cause to the political leadership to suspect the good relations and solidarity which may be established between local and foreign NGOs. NGOs could be a major force in the inducement of spontaneous public participation in Africa's economic recovery and sustainable development.

20/ See Keynote Address delivered by Chief S.O. Adebo on 7-9 March 1974 at a Conference on "Management Development: The Challenge of Indigenization". University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

21/ See Akpalo Kouassivi, "The roles and responsibilities of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and grassroots communities", E/ECA/ICPP/90/22. The characteristics of NGOs articulated in this paper do not reflect the reality of NGOs in action for instance financial independence of European NGOs is untenable, and, Paul Wangoola, "Promoting indigenous NGOs as Instruments of Popular Participation" paper prepared in the International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa, 12-16 Feb. 1990, Arusha, Tanzania.

C. Subregional strategies and measures

50. The rationale for subregional strategies and measures of public participation is to provide prelude to regional or continental approach to development because many African countries are at present too small to benefit from the economies of scale so essential for the establishment and management of basic industries for the production of agricultural, industrial and infrastructural inputs. Public participation at the subregional level is vital for development through subregional economic co-operation.

51. Bearing in mind the unique problems of group of countries in Africa's subregions, intergovernmental authorities could be established for public participation in joint programmes. For example, in drought prone subregions such as the Sahel, Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development could be established and people in the respective countries encouraged to participate in joint tree-planting programmes so as to jointly tackle environmental problems of desertification. In the case of island nations, participatory programmes of trade and transport links with the mainland nations could lead to mutual socio-economic development. Strengthening of existing subregional economic organizations in Africa would foster the consideration of public participation at the national and subregional levels.

D. Regional strategies and measures

52. At the regional level, conferences, seminars and workshops could be organized from time to time to promote dialogue and the cross-fertilization of ideas on how best to go about sustaining public participation in community and national development programmes.

E. Constraints on sustained public participation in development planning and management

53. Given that leaders from all walks of life in Africa are committed to the ideals of popular public participation in overcoming the challenges of the current social and economic crises, what then are the constraining factors? The constraints on the operationalization of public participation are external and internal or domestic.

Constraints at the national level

54. Political factors would seem to be the most enduring factors at the national level which could either inhibit or inspire genuine public participation in national development. Exigencies of political survival, irrespective of ideological underpinnings, tend to take precedence over the participatory requirements of economic realities.

55. The diminished confidence of the public in the integrity of the state bureaucracy, the attitude of public servants to the general public and particularly to the peasant taxpayers, the dwindling productivity of the demoralized workers, and the repressive apparatus of the armed forces all culminate in the stifling of individual and collective initiatives which would have been harnessed for national development. The rampant collapse of the banking system in some African countries in recent years has further destroyed people's confidence and thus impeded the mobilization of savings for development.

56. The demonstration effect of the conspicuous consumption of a few vis-à-vis the majority in each society has the effect of dampening the enthusiasm of the majority to sacrifice their time and meager financial resources for the common good. The less privileged find it difficult to differentiate between luxuries genuinely acquired and luxuries acquired through corruption and/or the embezzlement of public funds.

57. The legal framework and legal practices could also become obstacles to public participation. Arbitrariness of arrests stifles public participation. In some countries colonial laws which prohibited Africans from planting food crops which would compete for labour with the colonialist plantation

requirements or make the African self-sufficient in food production are still on the statute books and are implemented by the state police apparatus. This is damaging not only to development but also discourages initiative and public participation.

58. The attitude of men to women in Africa is also a source of problems. Even though women are the major producers of food in Africa, their contribution to development has not been given the credit it deserves. Above all, women are not accorded key roles in the decision-making processes of social and economic development. The low ranking accorded to the status of women in development planning and management has had detrimental effects on national development.

59. The reluctance to come to terms with the realism of international commodity trade has distorted the focus of public participation in agriculture. For example, fluctuations in the prices of cocoa, coffee, rubber, tea, etc. is not a new phenomenon. However, instead of diversification into crops for domestic consumption or building local resource bases for agro-industries to consume the erstwhile exports, most African countries have been lagging behind in changing the production mix of their economies. Price booms for raw commodity exports should be regarded as a thing of the past.

60. At the international level, approach to negotiations for the inflow of foreign resources tends to ignore or underplay the fact that aid donors have the interests of their own taxpayers to protect. In addition the taxpayers in other countries have become weary of the mismanagement of aid which is allegedly rampant in some African countries.

61. The foregoing constraints are compounded by natural forces such as drought, locusts, mosquitoes, snakes, crocodiles, harsh climatic environment and home grown internecine wars of attrition. These latter not only result in the waste of local and external resources that would have been used for development but also cripple economic activities as well as create armies of disabled youths. Whereas it is easier to obtain the weapons of war, it is enormously difficult to mobilize the resources that are required to take care of disabled and destitute populations so rendered by the atrocities of domestic military conflicts.

62. The perpetuation of the pre-independence promises of free social services (education, health, subsidized food and transport services, etc.) has tended to increase the dependency syndrome of the population on the government. These promises were pertinent given the magnitude of deprivation of the people of social services at independence. However, because no time limit was placed on the duration of free social services, in time, the majority of the population has become used to these free services given by the government and would resist any attempt to levy expenses on services that used to be provided free of charge.

63. The constraints enumerated here are not exhaustive but could be considered as adequately indicative of some impediments to public participation in Africa's economic recovery and development process, especially the process of development planning and management.

SECTION IV

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY ACTION

A. Summary conclusions

64. The emerging consensus in Africa is that public participation is central to development planning and management. The planning process is not the prerogative of technocrats but should involve the active participation of the people in the conception, formulation, implementation and management of all the forces of development.

65. A common understanding and agreement on the usage of expressions such as PUBLIC and POPULAR participation are important not only for the sake of the clarity which development planning practice requires but also to forestall any detraction from the real issues of the inherent relationship between human beings and the process of development and management. The emerging conclusion, therefore, is that the analysis of both planning and economic management as well as public participation in Africa should now be based on the political, social and the economic development realities of the 1980s and beyond.

66. Public participation galvanized the masses of the people against colonial rule. Its effectiveness has been demonstrated over and over again in the decolonization and the independence of most African countries. However, the pre-independence public participation paradigm is now inadequate to meet the daunting challenges of internal and external pressures, the increasing complexity of the international economic system and relations, and the increasing sophistication of societal demands on government administrations in contemporary Africa.

67. For public participation to be popular in the sense of general acceptability by the vast majority of the people in each country, it must be seen to be genuinely spontaneous and not manipulated, orchestrated or subtly coerced. The requirements of spontaneous public participation must be clearly understood. In this connection, public participation is not something that governments must do for people but rather what people must do for themselves in their own interest and that of the country.

68. Public participation is thus the aggregation of participation in household affairs, in individual corporate managements, partnerships, sole proprietorships, charitable organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and in government administration which has overall responsibility for national economic planning and management. All the actors indicated herein should, therefore, share responsibility for the creation of the enabling environment which is the sin qua non of public participation in development planning and management activities. The creation of an enabling environment should begin at the household level. Resistance to workers' participation in private and public sector firms is, for instance, not conducive to the promotion of an enabling environment for participation in planning at the national level.

69. The planning and the management of development activities should move away from anachronistic theories which were based on the objective realities of Europe. In this regard the contours of development issues enshrined in the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP) could be elaborated to good advantage. Thus, public participation could be posited in the context of the expectations of the AAF-SAP.

70. Another emerging conclusion from this report is that the monitoring of the mobilization of financial resources should be one of the criteria for the evaluation of the magnitude of public participation in national development planning and management. It would be unrealistic to argue that quantification is not of essence in the monitoring of public participation. Table 1 of this report shows the total ($128,104.5 million) financial resources required for Africa's economic recovery programme in 1986-1990. Out of this aggregate outlay $82,487.4 million (64.4 per cent) are expected from the population of Africa and $45,617.1 (35.6 per cent) from the taxpayers of other countries. It could be argued that the extent to which these sums of money are realized in practice would somehow reflect the extent to which local and foreign taxpayers are prepared to contribute to and hence participate in the national planning and recovery programmes of individual countries. Thus, innovative perspectives on the dimensions and requirements of public participation are essential for a clearer understanding of the sacrifices that are expected of every person in the society.

71. On the issue of the centrality of government in the planning and management of development based on popular public participation, this report cannot but agree more with the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration that alternative development in Africa should see the current crisis as a political crisis linked to a basic contradiction between state power and people's power. Resolution of this contradiction through urgent democratization with effective popular participation at all levels in decision-making, resource mobilization and allocation would strengthen and enhance the basic role of the state in development through effective

planning. This demands patriotic leadership and accountability at all levels of society to sustain meaningful growth and development. The accredited representatives of the people must be accountable to the people.

72. It could be argued from these conclusions that the problem is not with what to do to promote public participation but with how to do it. The Dar-es-Salaam Declaration notes, in the same vein, that the most basic problem with alternative development strategies, including public participation, in Africa is their implementation. To overcome this fundamental problem, it has been suggested that development documents in Africa must be based on socio-economic realities and must become political documents that should be widely disseminated and debated. In this way, the popular forces of workers, peasants, women, students, progressive intellectuals, patriotic professionals and politicians will be mobilized to participate spontaneously in the development efforts of the nation.

B. Recommendations for policy action

73. Decisive policy measures and action are required in all African countries to overcome impediments to peoples' participation in development planning and management. The recommendations made here will assist to contribute to the efforts which African countries are making to ensure that public participation becomes a way of life in all development activities. In this regard, the recently concluded International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa and the resulting African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation (Arusha 1990), are of paramount importance. The recommendations made in the ensuing paragraphs are derived from the premise that full and effective participation by the masses together with the governments in development planning and management will speed up the attainment of sustainable socio-economic development in Africa.

(a) The national development plans of African countries must contain explicit policy measures on public participation. This entails the adoption of development planning strategies which coincide with the intrinsic interests and the aspirations of the people. These strategies should incorporate, rather than alienate, the economic, social, cultural and environmental realities of each country. The determination of these realities should be the prerogative of the people themselves.

(b) The creation of an enabling environment must not be regarded as the responsibility of the government alone but rather as the obligations of households, firms, NGOs and all other actors in partnership with the government in the development and management process. In this regard each country should establish an Extension Service for Public Participation (ESPP) in development planning. The ESPP would, inter alia, create awareness through the education of the masses on the platitudes of people-based development planning, democratization of the development process, and the sacrifices people must be prepared to make to ensure the success of development plans which they themselves have formulated. Thus the ESPP must begin at the family level as the foundation of people-based development and extend to schools, the work place, in all organizations and all walks of life in society.

(c) Given that the quality of development depends on the character of the political system, African countries should reassess the extent to which their political system allows for democracy, freedom of opinions, tolerance to differences, and full participation in development by all sections of the population. In this regard, political systems in Africa should be taken as instruments of promoting public participation in development planning and management.

(d) At the international level, there is need for African governments to evaluate the role and performance of their diplomatic missions in the promotion of external public participation in each country's development planning and management. Embassies must be equipped with the capacity and capabilities to enhance national efforts to seek external resources gap support from bilateral and multilateral donors and transnational corporations.